



# JEWISH OBSERVER & MIDDLE EAST REVIEW

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## COMMENT

### WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

The secession of Syria from the United Arab Republic has, of course, created a new set of political conditions in the Middle East. But, even more significant than the actual transformation that has taken place, is the fact that it has happened in a form that makes manifest something which had been hidden from Arab and western public opinion in recent years. This is that Nasser's Egypt—and Nasserism as such—are no longer accepted by the Arab world.

In itself, this is not something altogether new. It is a process that has been going on for some time. But what is different is the open and public rejection of Nasser, not by the imperialists, nor by the Israelis, but by the people who have been the source and inspiration of Arab nationalism. It is this public rejection of Nasser by his Syrian subjects that gives a new dimension to the Syrian revolt against Cairo rule.

\* \* \*

For it was a genuine revolution, moving along almost classic Leninist lines. It began at a moment when Lenin's three essential conditions for a revolution were operating in Syria: public authority had broken down in the clash between Nasser and Serraj; public discontent with Egyptian rule had become so widespread that it embraced all classes; and there was a group ready with an acceptable alternative policy of secession. It was sparked off, like most revolutions, by a combination of accident and the ruling group's stubbornness and blindness. Nasser clearly had no idea of what was brewing in Syria when he refused the army's compromise proposals. But even if had known, he could hardly have acted differently. For Nasser's position in Syria was such (and it is much the same now in Egypt) that the one thing he could no longer afford was to compromise with his opponents.

The Damascus revolution (like Nasser's own in Cairo in 1952) was carried out by a comparatively small group of army units. But once it had begun, it began to snowball in the familiar revolutionary manner when an uprising reflects the popular mood. In a sense, the masses took over, and there followed the usual moderate bourgeois government concerned for the moment to establish the revolutionary regime as quickly as possible and with the maximum appearance of legality, an essential prerequisite.

What we have witnessed, therefore, is no more than the first phase of a revolution that has yet to run its course and undergo considerable change in the process.

It would be idle at this stage to anticipate this future in terms of the internal developments in Syria. But what it has done to the Arab world and especially to President Nasser is already a fact. And this would not be undone even if the Egyptians were successful in re-imposing their rule on Syria. For things will never be the same again in the Middle East and in Africa.

\* \* \*

The questions come tumbling over each other. Tunisia has asked for a meeting of the Arab League. But what will happen there? Will the Egyptians accept revolutionary Syria as a member or will they seek to veto the application, as Iraq unsuccessfully opposed that of Kuwait. Will Jordan and Egypt sit together now that they no longer have diplomatic relations? Even more painful will be the situation for the Lebanese and the Saudi Arabians who will have to decide on which side of the fence to make their slow descent. And what of the Arab League force in Kuwait with its mixed complement of largely Jordanian and Egyptian troops and officers? Do they still have normal relations?

In the wider field, the implications are even more far-reaching. Cairo was to be the military headquarters of the Casablanca group of powers and of the African Command. What with Nasser engaged in Syria (and preoccupied in Egypt) and Nkrumah under some considerable pressure on his home front, their joint leadership of the Casablanca group of nations does not look unduly impressive to the other African states. It is thus not only in the Arab League, but also in the African context that the Syrian uprising has left its indelible mark. For Nasser can no longer claim as the Arab leader who speaks with the consent of the Arab world. With Syria, Jordan and Iraq already contracting out, and with others possibly to follow, his own position has never been quite so much in jeopardy since the revolution nine years ago.

\* \* \*

Yet, there is no need for the British and Americans to get prematurely overwrought at the prospect of the lost stability in the Middle East. Stability is a purely relative virtue in diplomacy. Indeed, it may be far easier to bring a genuine stability to the changing Middle East in its new fluid state than it was to the Nasser-controlled Middle East with its facade of stability, behind which the region was fiercely rearming and preparing for conflicts in every direction.

Let us, therefore, realise that we are at the commencement of a new era in the Middle East and not mourn the passing of Egyptian hegemony which brought neither real peace nor genuine prosperity to the Arab people—or to their Israeli neighbour.

## JEWISH OBSERVER AND MIDDLE EAST REVIEW

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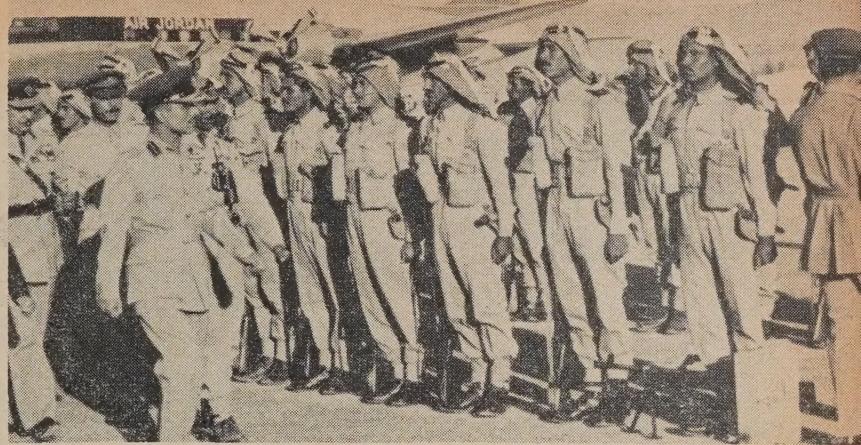
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WHAT HAPPENS IN KUWAIT: ARE JORDAN'S TROOPS UNDER EGYPTIAN ORDERS?

## CAN NASSER MAKE WAR ON SYRIA?

### THE MILITARY ALIGNMENT

In actual numbers, the Egyptian Army (based on a population of 26 million) is about double the strength of the Syrian Army (based on a population of 5 million). The Egyptians have roughly 100,000 men under arms and the Syrians have 45,000.

In overall numbers of armour and aircraft, the Egyptian superiority is rather more striking. The Egyptians have some 800 tanks of all sizes and some 250 fast MiG fighters. The Syrians have about 300 tanks and about 80 fighters of the same types.

But the Syrian forces are better trained, better human material (as the Israelis discovered during the Kinneret clash in 1958), and more tightly organised than the Egyptians. This is particularly true of their armoured units.

**A formidable instrument:** The Egyptians have only one armoured division in being, while a second one is in the slow process of formation. They have two infantry divisions and a third in the process of formation. The rest of their manpower is spread about in penny packets which are of limited military value.

The Syrian Army is organised as a much more coherent force. It does not bother with oversize and clumsy divisional organisations. The army is divided into nine brigades (which are in fact streamlined divisions); two of these are armoured and one wholly mechanised. As a local fighting force these make a formidable instrument. They are both mobile and flexible—and modern.

In addition, the Syrians have one overriding advantage: they are in Syria. Nasser has no effective means to transport a

commensurate force necessary for the job to Syria. The two thousand paratroops that he despatched were about as much as he could manage.

**Ready to make deal:** Nasser's only hope of reasserting his authority rests on a switch of loyalty in a part of the Syrian armed forces. But it is precisely these that have been most outraged by the conduct of the Egyptian officers, junior and senior alike, serving in Syria.

Only this sense of outrage can explain the total ineffectiveness of the five thousand or so Egyptian officers who occupied key positions in the Syrian forces and who were unable to exert their authority at a time when they most needed to do so.

The Syrian Army, it is clear now from its own account issued on Tuesday, was prepared to make a deal with Field Marshal Amer on a wide range of reforms which went far beyond the army demands. It was at this point that Amer was asked to contact Nasser and Nasser advised him to play for time.

**The bigger risk:** The revolutionary leaders showed something of their mettle when they arranged to monitor Amer's exchange with Nasser. It seems that Nasser may not find the mounting of a counter-revolution quite so simple in military terms. He may risk much more than his future in Syria in attempting it.

Meanwhile, the Syrian revolutionaries have cause to be thankful to the Israeli wedge which, geographically, separated them from Nasser's tanks, and persuaded Nasser at the outset not to enter into a military contest with the revolution.

# CAIRO

## TRUTH KEPT FROM EGYPTIANS

### HOW NASSER KNEW IT WAS ALL OVER

from a correspondent now in Cairo

Even now, the mass of Egyptians have no real idea of the situation in Syria. The general impression, fostered by President Nasser and encouraged by the internal radio and press services, is that a handful of insurgent officers, in the pay of the west, are in precarious control of a Syrian people fighting to maintain its unity with Egypt.

While editors in Cairo newspaper offices spiked agency dispatches reporting all quiet in Syria's main cities, President Nasser told thousands of cheering students in Cairo University on Monday that Syrians were battling in the streets of Damascus, Aleppo and other cities to restore their unity with Egypt. A popular movement was now underway, he told them, to "Save the United Arab Republic."

But, above the masses, in the offices of the central government, in military headquarters and in newspaper offices, there is no gainsaying the truth. The union of Egypt and Syria is at an end and only bloody violence can restore it. Soon, the inquest that everyone fears will begin.

**No one would tell:** Amer, for one, will have much to answer for. As the President's unofficial viceroy in the Northern Region he should have had better knowledge of what was going on there. And what of the myriads of ministers and officials who spent a great deal of time and money travelling between Cairo and Damascus, did they not know the way the wind was blowing?

The truth is that they did, but no one dared to tell Nasser. Amer, already under a cloud (or in it, if you prefer) because of his growing taste for hashish, could not bring himself to confess that he was unable to cope with the Syrian situation. Serraj, preparing for his own triumphs, would not tell Nasser. And the others could not—because he would not listen. It would have been beyond his comprehension—until last Thursday—to be told that Syria did not want Nasserism.

His awakening has been speedy and



IN CAIRO, THE CROWDS DEMONSTRATE THEIR LOYALTY  
*Will they still enthuse when the truth is known?*

bitter. The truth dawned in the early hours of Friday morning when two thousand parachute troops, highly trained members of a crack force, took off from Egyptian airfields for a landing at Latakia, and units of the Egyptian Navy slipped out of Alexandria, steaming north.

**Reinforcement operation:** Their orders, given by Nasser, were to link up with loyal units of the Syrian First Army. But when the first transport aircraft disgorged their consignment of paratroops over Latakia, they were met with a hail of fire. There were no loyal troops with whom they could link up. The army upon which Nasser, as he himself said, had lavished much money and equipment, preferred Syria to Egypt.

There was no choice but to call off the rest of the landings and to order home the fleet, not—as Nasser said—to prevent the spilling of Arab blood, but rather—as the Cairo newspaper *al Ahram* inadvertently revealed—because "a reinforcement operation could not turn into a military operation."

Since the events of last weekend, much else besides Nasser's hopes has crumbled. Turkish recognition of the new Syrian Government was a shattering blow. Jordan's recognition was no surprise, but the glee with which it was announced has deeply stung Nasser's pride. And the lukewarm condolences of Arab friends have done little to ease the shock.

**Peking man chooses Syria:** Bourguiba regretted that Arabs were using force against each other. King Hassan expressed the hope that unity would be re-established. Mecca called upon Allah to end all divisions.

Moscow, as far as one can establish here, has been strangely quiet. But there has been a significant development in Peking where the U.A.R. Ambassador, a Syrian, has opted for the Syrian Republic. It is unlikely that he would have made a choice unpalatable to the Chinese Government. Also significant is the fact that "Our Radio," a recognised communist transmission to Turkey, reported that the Syrian people were supporting the army against Nasser's "tyranny."

Against this, Nasser is fighting a determined action among African nationalist leaders here and in his African broadcasting services to dismiss the Syrian revolt as the work of a small band of reactionaries in the pay of the west. It is well done, but in view of the other sources of news open to Africans, I doubt if it is convincing.

**A cold winter:** Slowly, the facts will percolate down to the Cairo cafe counters. It is then that Nasser's greatest test will come. When my favourite barman reminded me on Saturday night to turn my watch back because "now it is winter-time," there seemed much more significance in his simple comment than he could possibly realise.

# BAGHDAD

## KASSEM MAKES ANOTHER MISTAKE

**WAS BACKING SERRAJ  
AGAINST NASSER**

*from our own correspondent*

### Baghdad :

Kassem's only public comment on events in Syria has been so non-committal as to be almost nonsensical—unless you know the facts that lie behind it.

"The events occurring in the country of our brothers, he said at the weekend, "can be solved only by the people's sons. We address our appeal to our brothers in Syria and our brothers in Egypt to extend their hands to each other to realise amity. The covetous and treacherous imperialist is lying in wait for them . . . We wish success and good to our brothers."

Kassem in truth was as shocked as any other Arab leader by the events in Syria, but for quite different reasons. He had expected an upheaval in Syria, he had prepared for one, he had even helped a little. But it was Serraj he thought he was helping. The return of a government based on civil and not military leadership was quite outside of his calculations.

**Agents in Baghdad :** It was already clear before the events of last week that tension was rising in Syria. Army patrols were out on all the roads and were guarding radio stations and other key points. Kuwatly, Syria's "first citizen", was not on talking terms with Nasser, and Serraj was ostensibly sulking in his Cairo hotel room.

In fact, he was working actively through his agents to make a break with Nasser which would have put him effectively in control of Syria. Serraj men were here in Baghdad making contact with Kassem and General Dagestan. Kassem had already promised assistance if and when Serraj should have broken free from the U.A.R.

At the same time in Damascus, however, Field-Marshal Amer was busily dismantling the Serraj apparatus, the "Special Bureau" which, in the years even before union, hounded and persecuted those who got in the way of Serraj. Amer had sealed off all the prisons containing Serraj's prisoners and most of them had been released.

Only a move such as this, Amer had



FORMER "FIRST CITIZEN" KUWATLY  
*Not on talking terms*

counselled Nasser, could save the United Arab Republic from a disaster.

**Baath waiting :** With Serraj out of the way and his terror apparatus in the process of being broken up, the more liberal elements in the army and among the politicians saw their chance. They gambled and they won—at least for the time being.

But it is plain, as seen from Baghdad, that Syria's troubles are far from over. It will not be long before the Baathists, the communists, all those factions which were systematically ousted by Nasser, will be pushing their way out to the front again.

# EX-U.A.R.

## TIME-TABLE OF THE REVOLT

### 48 HOURS THAT ROCKED THE MIDDLE EAST

It was just before dawn on the morning of Thursday, September 28, that Damascus Radio signalled the end of the United Arab Republic. Communiqué No. 1 from the "Supreme Arab Revolutionary Command of the Armed Forces," issued just after 4 a.m., announced a "national uprising" against corruption and tyranny.

Within the hour, two more communiqües had been issued. The first proclaimed that "the struggling Arab people in Syria and Egypt, supported by the Arab army in both countries, have carried out, with the help of Almighty God, an Arab-organised revolutionary movement to quash the deviators, those who have struck the sacred Arab unity in the heart . . ."

The second announced that the army was in full control of the situation and urged Syrians to treat "their brothers the Egyptians" with generosity, care and sincerity. It promised stern action against saboteurs and intriguers and warned against attacks on government or foreign buildings.

**Nasser at 6 a.m.:** Communiqué No. 4, issued just after 5.30 a.m., announced the closing of all Syrian airports and harbours.

Thirty minutes later, Cairo Radio,

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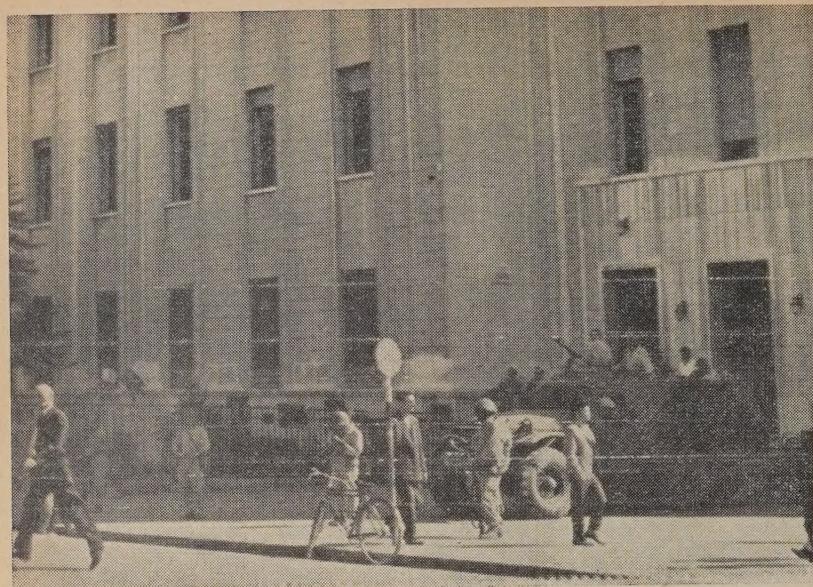
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TROOPS ON GUARD AT DAMASCUS RADIO STATION  
"No parking" for Nasser in Syria's capital—the U.A.R. has had its ticket

which had made no mention of the revolt so far, announced an immediate address by President Gamal Abdel Nasser. He spoke for twenty minutes. The revolt, he claimed, had been carried out by a small force from the First Army at Qatana which marched to Damascus where it surrounded military headquarters, took over the radio station and released communiques.

He was unable, declared Nasser, to proclaim the dissolution of the U.A.R. "I will never proclaim this at all or by any means, no matter what hardships I may face . . . Our banners—the banners of Arab nationalism—will not be pulled down."

**Aleppo stands apart:** Just over an hour after Nasser concluded his broadcast, Damascus broadcast its fifth communique claiming complete success for the revolutionary movement "without one single casualty, thanks to the solidarity of the people and the army." But, within the hour, the tone had changed, with an appeal to the public to remain calm and to cease expressing "collective signs of support" for the revolt.

There then began a radio duel, involving Damascus, Aleppo and Deir es-Zor, with Cairo intervening, which continued throughout day. Aleppo came on the air at 9.10 a.m. announcing the Northern Area commander's support for Nasser. Two minutes later, Damascus said the commander supported the revolt, but within sixty seconds Aleppo had repeated its support for Nasser.

While Aleppo joined by Deir es-Zor

went on to announce the support of the Latakia command for Nasser and the receipt of telegrams approving its line from all parts of Northern Command, Damascus issued appeals for calm and proclaimed a ban on all public demonstrations.

**Appeal to Amer:** Its ninth communique, just before 10.30 a.m., stated that the "problems and aims" of the revolutionaries had been submitted to Field-Marshal Amer in Damascus "who understood the real affairs of the army and took appropriate measures to solve them in the interest of the unity and strength of the armed forces and the U.A.R." Military matters had "returned to their normal course."

Shortly afterwards, Deir es-Zor dropped its relay of Cairo and Aleppo programmes and started to relay Damascus.

At 11.30 a.m., Cairo quoted the "U.A.R. radio in Damascus" as reporting that the situation had returned to normal and as expressing its confidence in the wisdom of Field-Marshal Amer. Aleppo continued to denounce the revolution and proclaim allegiance to Nasser.

**A communique cancelled:** Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo continued to repeat their previous announcements, statements and speeches until five minutes past two that afternoon when Damascus came on the air with communique No. 10:

"The Supreme Arab Revolutionary Command of the Armed Forces announces to the Arab people that, upon contacting Field-Marshal Abdel Hakim

Amer, he promised to do away with the opportunists and saboteurs, a fact which prompted the Command to issue its communique No. 9.

However, the Marshal soon went back on his promise and, therefore, the Revolutionary Command, in order to protect the victories of the Arab people and Arab nationalism, declares to the people that it considers its communique No. 9 as cancelled, and announces that it has placed its hands on everything, and that it pledges to God and the country to protect the nation's security, to preserve its rights and dignity."

The Revolutionary Command, depending on the wide vigilance of the people, requests that the opportunists and hirelings, if any, be prevented from infiltrating into the ranks of the people, for the movement is for the people and to the people."

**Nasser's second broadcast:** Within minutes of this communique being issued, Damascus announced the imposition of a curfew throughout Syria and ordered all military personnel on leave to rejoin their units. Deir es-Zor, meanwhile, once again switched its allegiance from Damascus to Aleppo.

At four o'clock, President Nasser went on the air with his second broadcast of the day. He defended the aims of the U.A.R. which he listed as: a free dignified life for every individual, no feudalism, no exploitation, no monopoly, no domination of the individual by capitalism, no dictatorship by capitalism, freedom and social justice for the restoration of the rights of man. No dignified free life could be established without establishing social democracy and social justice.

It was these basic concepts, he stated, which had been attacked by the insurgent officers. But the Syrian people had risen in defence of these aims. The people in Damascus and Aleppo had risen. "These people, who have believed in the U.A.R., do not fear tanks which have infiltrated under cover of darkness."

**Order of dismissal:** What had happened that day in Damascus allowed for no bargaining, no middle-of-the-road solution. The U.A.R. was not based on bargaining but on principles. "I demand that every man and every officer of the armed forces of the U.A.R. carry out his duty. I repeat: I call on every mutineer to face himself, his soul, his heart and his conscience."

"I say that every mutineer must bear the responsibility of the mutiny in which he became involved and which affected the security of this Republic, its future and the struggle of its brave and valiant



WHEN THE KISSING HAD TO STOP

Nasser, Serraj (second from right) during a recent visit from Lebanese notables

people for freedom and for justice."

At the end of the Presidential address, Cairo broadcast an order from Nasser dismissing "the mutineers" Abdel Ghani Dahman, Muwafaq Asatah, Abdel Karim Nahlawi, Haidar Kuzbari, Nasib Hindi and Hashem Abdel Rabbu.

**Support from the north:** Over the following hour, until 5.45 p.m., Cairo and Aleppo exchanged broadcasts, the former transmitting recorded broadcasts of pro-Nasser demonstrations in Aleppo, the latter a recording of the Presidential broadcast.

At 5.45, Damascus issued communique no. 13 ridiculing the Nasser decree dismissing six officers. "The officials in Cairo imagine that these decrees can stand in the face of the revolutionary tide which springs from the heart of every citizen. Their imagination betrays them, for the people here realise their interest and are very firm on their national duty. They alone have the right to determine their future."

At six o'clock, Aleppo went off the air. When it returned some ten minutes later, it was with an announcement that the Second Training Centre supported the revolt. Deir es-Zor then made its final switch, to Damascus. Aleppo continued to announce support for the revolution and reported that the local situation was "under control." This was followed by the announcement that a curfew had been imposed.

**Military music and patriotic songs:** Further communiques from Damascus

welcomed the support of Aleppo and proclaimed the closing of all frontiers. At 6.55 p.m. Damascus replied to Nasser's second broadcast, stating for the first time that the army had no desire to retain control but would hand over its powers to a civilian government. At the same time, "the army is standing by ready to face any sabotage attempt or false propaganda."

This statement was repeated at intervals throughout the evening, together with announcements of support for the revolt from other parts of Syria. Cairo, abandoning its schedule of programmes, started to broadcast military music, patriotic songs and repeats of the second Presidential address. Star commentator Ahmad Sa'id was frequently on the air during the evening, challenging the Damascus revolutionaries to lift the curfew and let the people demonstrate their real allegiance.

Cairo announced that it would continue to broadcast throughout the night. Damascus, after broadcasting the Syrian national anthem, closed down at 10 p.m. and said that it would be on the air again at 3 a.m. the following morning. But only fifty-five minutes after midnight it returned to the air with readings from the Koran.

**Friday's victory:** Just after 4 a.m. on Friday, September 29, a Damascus communique announced that Egyptian paratroopers landed at Latakia had been "wiped out." Another communique at 4.37 stated that Mamoun Kuzbari had

been appointed Prime Minister and was forming a government. At 4.50, a statement said that 200 Egyptian paratroopers had been annihilated.

Ahmad Sa'id, still broadcasting from Cairo at 7 a.m., called on Syrians to "defeat the enemies of Arabism." At 8.10, Damascus broadcast the names of the Kuzbari Cabinet.

For an hour from 9.15, both Cairo and Damascus broadcast Friday prayers from mosques in the two cities. The Damascus religious broadcast was followed by a report that 120 troops sent by Nasser to Syria had been forced to surrender without any shedding of blood.

**No regrets:** With the proclamation of the new government, the issuing of communiqües ceased. At 2.30 p.m. on Friday, President Nasser addressed a large gathering in Gumhuriya Square which was relayed by Cairo radio. He confirmed that Egyptian paratroopers had been sent to Syria but said that when it became apparent they would be involved in shedding



## Drambuie

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More and more people are asking for the historic liqueur from Scotland. The ancient recipe for Drambuie includes old Scotch whisky, heather honey and delicate herbs.

Arab blood, they had been ordered to return. By that time, 120 paratroops had already been dropped.

The greater part of his speech was devoted to outlining the problems with which he had had to contend in cementing the union between Egypt and Syria, a union which, he suggested, had been pressed upon him by the Syrians themselves. "During the last three-and-a-half years, we encountered many difficulties, we encountered endless difficulties.

"I could say that three-quarters of my time was devoted to an attempt to overcome these difficulties. Do we regret what we have done? No! We shall never regret it because we responded to our conscience, our Arabism and our unity.

"I am aware that what happened yesterday might cause a feeling of deep bitterness. But I find it my duty at these moments to raise my voice in warning: This Republic must always remain a bastion for Arab nationalism . . . Treachery or treason should in no way affect us and in no way, irrespective of what has happened, should we forget our aims or our Arabism.

**Smiles of satisfaction:** He listed the achievements of the Republic in Syria as: the ending of feudalism, the protection of workers against arbitrary dismissal, the elimination of the dictatorship of capitalism, oppression, monopoly and



IN THE LEAD AWAY FROM NASSERISM  
Nasser trusted the Syrian Army, a compliment it did not return

domination. He was certain that the Syrian people throughout the world would make their voices heard in defence of these gains. The U.A.R. would continue to march forward.

Damascus on Friday evening broadcast a lengthy rebuttal of Nasser's claims. It wished that he could see "the smile of satisfaction" on the faces of the Syrian people at their liberation. It also regretted that he had never understood the basic differences between the economic systems of Egypt and Syria. The Egyptian ruler's adherence to a mentality which was formed under the wing of feudalism made him look at things in Syria with the same perspective and judge them on the same basis. "This resulted in frequent mistakes which nobody tried to understand or cure."

As for Nasser's boast that he had saved the Syrian people from the dictatorship of capital: "The Syrian people's surprise at this was often kept secret lest they be imprisoned and tortured. Now they show their surprise openly as they listen to the applause (in Cairo) for major projects, economic development, and the better standard of living. The Syrian people used to hear all this, look around them and, seeing nothing new, become pained and sad."

**Euphrates delays:** The major projects realised by Syria, Damascus claimed, were completed or begun before Nasser's rule. "The credit does not go to Abdel Nasser's rule for Latakia port, the Ghab project, the Rastan Dam, the oil refinery and other projects. As for the wells, the railroad which should have been com-

pleted in 1959 but has not been completed yet, and the Euphrates Dam which meets new obstacles and problems every day because of laxity and hesitation, these were the fruits of the economic planning of Nasser's era."

The second day of the revolution was over, and with it ended the emergency character of Damascus pronouncements. From Sunday on, orders, statements and proclamations have been issued in the name of the government, most of them in the course of normal news broadcasts.

But the final seal of the dissolution of the United Arab Republic did not come until Monday when sixteen former ministers, including nearly all those who had led Syria into its union with Egypt in 1958, announced their support for the revolution and denounced the "rule of tyranny, oppression and deviation established by President Nasser in both Syria and Egypt."

**Serraj under arrest:** Signatories who included former Premier Sabri Assali, who urged the merger on Nasser, former Premier Khaled el Azzam, ex-Foreign Minister Salah Bitar and one-time Nasser confidante and U.A.R. Vice-President Akram Hourani, proclaimed their support for "the Syrian armed forces in their blessed revolution."

Only one notable name was missing, Colonel Abdel Hamid Serraj, a Vice-President of the U.A.R. until last week when he resigned in protest against the withdrawal of his wide powers in Syria. Serraj, one of the most feared and hated men in his own country, was arrested on Sunday "for his own protection and ours".

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# IN THE NEWS

## B.B.C. OFF BEAM

I WAS NEAR PARIS the day the revolution broke in Damascus. It was the story in the French papers, which could hardly find type large enough to report every new move and every rumour with sufficient sensationalism. By Friday evening, I felt the need for a more reflective and objective opinion on the progress of events. I, therefore turned, naturally, to the B.B.C.'s "Ten O'clock" news and comment for enlightenment.

The leading comment was devoted to the uprising in Damascus and it took the form of a curious conversation between the editor of the programme, the B.B.C.'s Erskine Childers, and the *Sunday Times's* McGregor, their Cairo correspondent, who had just arrived in London from the Middle East.

Mr. McGregor was supposed to be the man on the spot who was going to explain what had happened, but he never had a chance of expressing any opinion of his own. Mr. Childers would make an assertion and then ask McGregor, "Isn't that so?", and McGregor would agree—though one felt, as the one-sided conversation continued, that he did so with ever-increasing reluctance. And this was not surprising. For this B.B.C. version of the Damascus overthrow sounded like a parody of Moscow—only it was not meant to be funny.

### A CAPITALIST PLOT

What had happened, Childers explained, was a putsch by Syrian landlords and bankers against Nasser's socialism. The whole thing was a capitalist plot against the progressive measures which Nasser had imposed on the Syrian rich and it was not likely that the Syrian people would support this small clique. In fact, Nasser and the Egyptians would really be quite relieved if the union with Syria were to be dissolved. This, of course, is familiar Childers—my Nasser can do no wrong. But is it serious, not to speak of objective, comment? I don't blame Childers. He is entitled to his views, though I rather suspect that he must be busy on hasty corrections to his manuscript *On the Road to Suez*, which was to show how the British had consistently underrated Colonel Nasser.

But surely the B.B.C. owes something more serious to its listeners—and to its

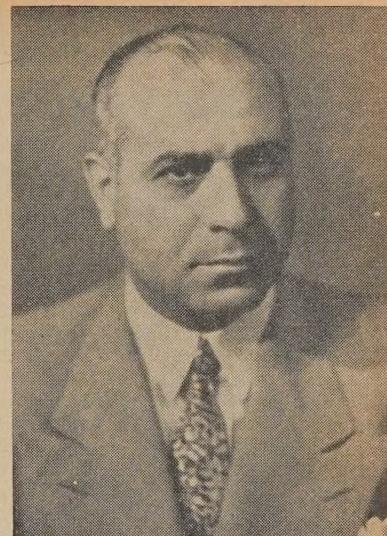
reputation. Was there no one available in that vast organisation to question Mr. Childers' simple faith? Was there no one to ask him why, if this was a bankers' plot, it enjoyed the evident support of the largely leftist officers of the Syrian Army and of the leaders of the Socialist Baath Party who had once been the most prominent sponsors of the union with Egypt and now denounced the Nasserist "tyranny"? After all, we have had enough experience with revolutions of this kind to know that it takes more than a banker or a businessman to make a real one. But when all is said, it was jolly decent of the B.B.C. to try and save Nasser's reputation even at the expense of its own.

### WHO IS KUZBARI ?

MAMOUN KUZBARI, SYRIA'S new—and perhaps temporary—Prime Minister is no newcomer to Cabinet office, though little known outside of his own country. His legal training (at the American University in Beirut) took him, in 1948, to the Department of State Property where he became counsel. From there, a nimble brain and a reputation for solid reliability, carried him speedily through the legal department of the Treasury to the Speakership of the Syrian Parliament and, consequently, to a range of Ministerial offices, excepting that to which the revolutionaries have now called him.

But it is impossible from his personal record to gauge the political direction of the revolution. He was against union with Egypt, though his leadership of the Syrian Arab Liberation Party had won him several distinguished Egyptian medals. But it had won him some Jordanian ones, too. He stood neither with extremists of Left or Right. If his views are to be assessed at all, they tend to the liberal or very mildly socialist. His main interest has been in real estate legislation, the subject of a study he published in 1956.

One of his first measures as Prime Minister has been to rescind restrictions on trade union activities. It would be in the nature of the man to make some similar gesture in the direction of property owners who have been smarting under limitations imposed by President Nasser. He is essentially a middle-of-the-roader, a notoriously uncomfortable position for the central figure in a revolutionary administration.



MAMOUN KUZBARI  
*An uncomfortable position*

### DR. DAVIS'S CAIRO VISIT

I AM GLAD to print the letter from Mme. Arakie (which appears on page 16). But it still leaves unanswered the two major issues raised in our report. The first was that the consultations about Dr. Davis's report to the Assembly, to which we referred, were not with his own officials but with the Secretary-General of the Arab League. It was Mr. Hassouna who told the press that Dr. Davis had given him an outline of the report which he was making to the Assembly—presumably through the office of the Secretary-General of the U.N. This, surely, is not the same thing as the so-called Advisory Committee in Beirut.

The second issue is rather more fundamental. Our report said that throughout his tenure of office (which has been marked by some very strongly implied criticism of Israel) Dr. Davis has made no direct contact with the Government of Israel and has not endeavoured to see for himself what conditions are like in Israel—surely an essential prerequisite for any realistic discussion of the repatriation of refugees. The answer that the Refugee Director has maintained a purely formal contact through the Israel Delegation at the U.N. is, of course, no answer. This is a serious omission on the part of the Director of which his predecessors, the late Mr. Calver and Mr. Labouisse, were also guilty. Would it really be impossible for Dr. Davis to discuss his problems with the Israelis in Israel?

## ERNST SIMON—PHILOSOPHER OF JEWISH EDUCATION

### PROFILE OF A THINKER AND WIT

The Zionist Federation Education Fortnight begins on October 9. It will be opened by Professor Ernst Simon of the Hebrew University, who will be giving a series of lectures and addresses in various cities in the course of the Fortnight. Robert Weltsch, who knows him well, has written the following "profile" specially for the JEWISH OBSERVER.

Ernst Simon belongs to the small circle of political non-conformists which formed around Dr. J. L. Magnes almost thirty years ago in Jerusalem. Their views are today advocated by the *Ihud* group, whose periodical *Ner* (Light) is published there.

Before the establishment of the State, this group insisted that Zionism must take into account the Arab population of Palestine (at that time in the majority), and draft its political programme accordingly.

They argued that the situation existing at the time demanded close co-operation between the two Semitic peoples for the benefit of Palestine, which should be constituted as a "bi-national" state.

The events of 1948 put an end to these proposals, and it was during those critical days that Dr. Magnes died. But Ernst Simon and his friends took up the cause, although changed circumstances directed that they turn their energies towards the practical tasks created by the establishment of a Jewish State.

**Search for solution to Arab problem :** They are convinced that the new State's principal political and moral problem was and is the relationship between Israel and the Jewish people with the Arabs, and that this is the real test of Israel's

maturity and humanity.

Their unrelenting quest for an Israeli initiative for the solution of the problem of the Arab refugees turned out to be unavailing, as did their endeavour to change the situation of Israel's Arab minority, who have been living under military law for thirteen years.

It is against this background that one must consider the personality of Ernst Simon. It is difficult to know how to describe him. Teacher, scholar, political thinker, orator, historian, philosopher—he is all of these, but the sum of such general characterisations still does not give a clear idea of his personality.

**Sparking vitality :** Ernst Simon is a man of wide horizons, of sparkling vitality and wit, one of those few who are endowed with abounding talents and able to arouse other people's enthusiasm, sense of duty and also their thoughtfulness.

He does not seek popularity, and in his talks he reminds his audiences again and again of what he considers to be wrong in the State of Israel. And yet, the miracle is that he retains his popularity unimpaired.

This may be explained by the unique position Simon occupies as a productive thinker and an untiring cultural figure in Israeli life. As a teacher he is a genuine friend of the young of all shades of opinion who seek his advice and guidance. He combines deep Jewishness and learning with modern erudition and overall world-wide knowledge.

**Assimilated family :** Born in Berlin 62 years ago, Ernst Simon comes from a totally assimilated family. As a student he joined a Zionist association, but the decisive transformation which determined his whole career as well as his way of thinking came in Frankfurt after 1918. There he came under the influence of the magical personality of Rabbi Nehemia Nobel, who introduced him to Jewish knowledge and the philosophy of Judaism.

Nobel was an enthusiast, both in his religion and in his Zionism. With him Simon studied the Bible and the Talmud and also accepted the religious way of life. This conscious return to Jewish tra-



PROFESSOR ERNST SIMON

Thirty years of political non-conformism  
and great popularity

dition did not affect his political and philosophic liberalism, his sense of humanity and his progressive social orientation.

He is far from being a fanatic, and has always had a profound understanding for his fellow men, including those who differ from him in their views. In Frankfurt in the early twenties he became a member of an extraordinary circle of Jewish intellectuals, the most famous of them, Franz Rosenzweig, being considered the greatest Jewish philosopher of modern times.

**Recalled to Germany :** Simon was also closely associated with Martin Buber when he became editor of Buber's monthly *Der Jude*. It was under his influence that a particular religious, pioneering movement grew up in Germany, based on a combination of Jewish learning and general education, of prophetic ethics and socialist ideas. It occupies a special position up to this day, and Simon has remained one of its intellectual leaders.

Ernst Simon emigrated to Palestine as a teacher in the twenties, but when Hitler came to power and the German Jews were in need of guidance and Jewish consolation in the plight in which they found themselves, Martin Buber, head of the newly created Institute for Adult Education, recalled Simon for service in Germany. He has described this strange chapter of his life in his essay on adult education in Year Book I of the Leo Baeck Institute.

It would be going far beyond the limits of this "profile" to enumerate and

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discuss the manifold subjects of Simon's writings, which range from the "assessment of value in history" to consideration of the great Swiss educator, Pestalozzi, the philosophy of Hermann Cohen and Franz Rosenzweig, biographical essays on Buber and Sigmund Freud and suggestions for an alternative foreign policy for the State of Israel.

**"Positive tolerance":** His essays and lectures on Jewish education and history are innumerable. An impressive document of recent times is the record of a symposium on the theme of "Man in the face of his values," which was held at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1959 in honour of Ernst Simon's sixtieth birthday.

Under Martin Buber's chairmanship, five professors read papers on the theme of the symposium, and Simon replied to them in an extensive summing-up. He pleaded for "positive tolerance" between nations and religions; not tolerance that springs from indifference, but tolerance based on strong convictions and loyalty to one's own faith, conceding to others the right to behave in the same way. The Hebrew University later published the record of the symposium.

It is not a matter of chance that Ernst Simon is a much requested and welcome lecturer in all centres of Jewish life and has been invited to teach at many foreign academic institutions, nor is it fortuitous that he is one of the most popular and successful of Israel's "ambassadors" in the world.

**Independent mind:** This is so, not because he toes the official line or tries to spread propaganda, but because, on the contrary, he always preserves an independent mind and a critical attitude. He never boasts, is deeply conscious of his own shortcoming and does not conceal inconvenient truths, while yet never despairing or losing faith in Israel's eternal idea.

Ernst Simon is a harbinger of the message that there is a second side to the gloomy reality that faces us, and that we should draw encouragement from God's world.

Simon's extraordinary temperament, wit and love of human beings turn him into an overwhelming and brilliant orator of the highest artistic and intellectual quality, apart from the scholar and thinker that he is in addition. He likes to laugh and he can seldom resist passing on the many jokes and *bons mots* that come to his mind. In this way he infects his audiences with his deep humanity and leaves them thoughtful and happy at the same time. Could anything better be said of any public speaker?

Robert Weltsch

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# ISRAEL

## ESHKOL STILL TRYING

**FOUR-PARTY "CLUB"  
MAY FALL APART**

*from Amos Ben-Vered*

### Jerusalem :

A new toughness has become apparent in Mapai's line towards the four-party "club", probably guided by the awareness that a Government without the major party would be a farce.

After compromising on several points, including a civilian authority over defence matters, which will probably include Ministers and M.K.'s, Mapai stood fast on its demand for a majority within the Cabinet.

This was a point on which the four-party group also decided to make a stand—and there were indications that it would be a last stand. The Mapai secretariat and central committee resolved last weekend to maintain their adamant attitude on this point, and gave Eshkol another week in which to form a Cabinet. If he had not been successful by this Friday, they would return Mapai's mandate to President Ben-Zvi.

**Frenzied meetings :** The result was a series of frenzied meetings, which began immediately after the holydays, intra-party within the four-party "club", inter-party and with the Mapai negotiators.

There were signs that the walls of the "club" were beginning to crack. In an article in Sunday's *Ha'aretz*, the paper's chief editor, Gershon Schocken, demanded that the Liberals work for a narrow coalition, because there they had the best chance of making their influence felt. This was coupled with his old demand that the Liberals move closer to Herut and form a common parliamentary bloc with them, as was proposed by Begin immediately after the election.

Schocken was a Progressive Knesset Member in the Third Knesset, and is a member of the Liberal political committee. According to his argumentation, the best the Liberals could win from a broad coalition would be a status equal to that



LIBERALS' RACHEL KAGAN  
*Shocked by Schocken*

of the Progressives in the present caretaker coalition.

**Delay no longer desirable :** For a party which aspired to the status of alternative leaders of the nation, this is a poor show, he says. In a Left of centre coalition the Liberals would have no say at all, and this would certainly mean their downfall at the next elections. Therefore, he concludes, a "narrow" coalition would be the lesser evil for the Liberals.

Mizrachi, although not saying so openly, also have nothing to gain from any further delay in the formation of a Cabinet. In a broad coalition, they would gain at least one ministry, probably that of Religious Affairs, on which they are very keen.

In a narrow coalition they might gain even more, and it is known that they are the least committed to the main objective of the Left-wingers in the four-party "club", which is to teach Mapai a lesson.

**Mapam Minister's one-man show :** The parties who stand to gain from further delays are those of the Left. If a Cabinet on the basis of parity for all parties represented in it could not be formed—and it is to such a Cabinet that they aspire—or if it should prove impossible to form a Cabinet without Mapai, which

they propose as a theoretical alternative, there is always the possibility of deadlock and the continuation of the present caretaker Cabinet.

As there is no binding collective responsibility in the caretaker Government, each Minister has come to regard his Ministry as his own province. Mapam's Bentov, for example, recently decreed that development enterprises answerable to the Ministry of Development should not take orders from the Companies Authority established by the Cabinet and headed by experts from the Ministry of Finance.

During the recent Electric Corporation strike, Bentov came out openly on the side of the workers. The Corporation is Government-owned, and this sort of behaviour would have been unthinkable had there been a Cabinet based on the principles of collective responsibility and action.

**Coalition with Liberals and Mizrachi ?** Mapam has been the driving force in the four-party "club", and it now remains to be seen whether Eshkol will be able to enlarge the cracks in the "club" facade and bring it tumbling down. If he does, there may be a Mapai coalition with the Liberals and Mizrachi. If not, President Ben-Zvi will have a caller at the beginning of next week, and the mandate for forming a new Government will be his to hand out again.

## REACTIONS TO THE REVOLT

### LOCAL ARABS DOWNCAST AT NASSER'S SETBACK

*from our Jerusalem correspondent*

Since there was never any question of recognising the U.A.R. when it existed, there is none now of recognising Syrian independence, so the disintegration of the union does not affect Israel directly. Its indirect influence is, however, enormous, a fact well understood by the country's Arab population, Nasserists almost to a man.

The first local news about the Syrian coup was put out by the Israel Broadcasting Service in Hebrew and Arabic at 6.30 in the morning. In Nazareth, Israel's Nasserist bastion, the Arabs at first refused to believe the news. They became convinced of its truth only after they had had it confirmed by Damascus radio.

**Short-lived joy :** Here, incidentally, it is perfectly legal to listen to any foreign radio station one likes, even to an enemy station at a time of active hostilities. (In

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all the Arab countries, listening to Israeli broadcasts is punished as treason).

The clearer it became that the Syrian rebels were intransigent in their opposition to Cairo, the lower spirits fell in Nazareth, but early in the afternoon, when there was a report that the rebels had reached a compromise with Nasser's envoy, Abdel Hakim Amer, the town's Arabs were so overjoyed that they danced in the streets and kissed and hugged each other.

Their joy was short-lived. Nasser himself announced later in the day that he had rejected the revolutionaries' terms, and the mood in Nazareth reverted to unrelieved gloom.

**No visible excitement:** Among the Jewish population there were no visible signs of excitement, although the rebellion was the topic of the day. Kol Israel broadcast unscheduled news flashes whenever there was a new development, and devoted more than half of its regular news bulletin time to Syria, cutting everything else down to the most essential facts.

The Government and Foreign Ministry were careful to refrain from comment on the revolution across the border. It was obvious where their sympathies lay, but nothing would have been worse for the rebels than the smallest sign of Israeli goodwill. Even the news on Kol Israel was very carefully worded.

**Papers hedged:** Meanwhile, Kol Israel correspondents reported in eye-witness accounts, the Syrians had lost no time in hauling down the U.A.R. flag from the flagpoles at military camps along the Israel border, replacing them with pre-U.A.R. Syrian flags. At the Bnot Ya'acov bridge over the Jordan, the crossing point between Syria and Israel, the flagpole, with its U.A.R. flag, was just uprooted bodily.

The Israeli papers were very careful in their Friday morning editorials, hedging as to whether they thought the rebels "would hold out," but they were almost unanimous in their opinion that Nasser's prestige had suffered irreparable damage because of the revolt, even if he should later succeed in quelling it.

What none of the newspapers seemed to realise was that a military reconquest of Syria was out of the question, something that Nasser himself certainly realised very quickly indeed. Although the Egyptian army is much larger than Syria's and much better equipped, it is in Egypt. Getting it to Syria is beyond Nasser's means.

**Could have used air force:** To try to move it there by air would have been suicidal. By sea it was impossible. The Egyptians have no troop transports, no merchant navy to speak of, and nothing



KFAR HANASSI FOUNDRY  
Desperate times have gone

larger than a destroyer in their navy.

Of course, Nasser could have used his air force to crush the revolt.

In order to do this, however, he would have had to bomb Damascus to destruction, which would sooner or later have led to his downfall anyway. Apart from this consideration, people here are giving him credit for refusing to entertain the idea of Arab fighting against Arab.

## THIRTEEN YEARS OF KFAR HANASSI THE MOST "BRITISH" KIBBUTZ OF ALL

from our Jerusalem correspondent

"We live here because we like it," said my host, Michael, as he showed me around the grounds of Kibbutz Kfar Hanassi. "We get a kick out of this sort of life."

From what I saw, that seems to be quite an accurate definition of the philosophy of life of the 321 people who make up today's population of what they themselves describe as the most "British" kibbutz in Israel.

Since 95 per cent of its members hail from the British Isles, this term seems to be justified; other settlements founded by British movements—Kfar Blum, Beit Ha'emek and Lavee, for example—already have heavy admixtures of immigrants from other countries and sabras.

**Three Habonim groups:** A visit to Kfar Hanassi well repays the effort (if half an hour's air travel from Tel Aviv

is an effort) and shows why its people like to live there. It is a charming, beautifully landscaped village, set in magnificent scenery. But the pleasant "kick" which life gives them now, was rather vicious in the not too distant past.

The hundred or so people who founded Kfar Hanassi thirteen years ago came from three groups of the British Habonim movement. They had done their agricultural training in Britain, and their first two children were in fact born there.

Soon after the second World War was over, they prepared to transfer to what was then Palestine, but got caught up in the web of Britain's Middle East policy. The British authorities suspected that every Jew, including British subjects, once in Palestine, would refuse to leave. Therefore, the three Habonim groups went on "Aliyah Beth" via France and Cyprus.

**British passports destroyed:** Before their ships were boarded, they destroyed their British passports; otherwise it would have meant forcible return to Britain. Some of the undeterred would-be kibbutzniks were on board the *Exodus* and were shipped back all the way to Hamburg.

In dribs and drabs, coming from various ports in Europe, the hundred original pioneers of the three Habonim groups finally reached here about the end of 1947. And then their real troubles started.

They were itching to enlist in the Hagana, but the Jewish authorities would not let them, arguing that they were more urgently needed in security settlements. After being split up between various kibbutzim and moshavim, they were eventually given land in the Mansura Tel-Hai Valley (near their present site).

**Lack of experience:** That was their most trying and intensely difficult period. In spite of their training, they had no proper farming and business experience and their ventures just did not pay off.

Even after 1950, when they moved westward to their present site, they passed through desperate times. After many unsuccessful attempts at growing market garden produce they eventually discovered that the top soil was too shallow; they started dairy farming, but had to abandon it because it involved them in heavy losses; the farming land they had was not worthy of the name: it had to be laboriously freed of huge boulders and untold thousands of smaller rocks which meant sixteen hours of back-breaking labour.

This went on for years, during which



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some twenty members left because they could not stick it out. At that time, the kibbutz was running a constant and heavy deficit and had to borrow money on the free market at usurious rates of interest, thus further increasing its indebtedness. The village looked neglected and desolate.

**More land from the J.N.F.** : Gradually, the situation changed. As some of the members put it: "It took us some time to readjust from being a frontier outpost to being a properly run farm." The J.N.F. gave Kfar Hanassi more land, and the Israel Office of the British Zionist Federation stepped in with increased financial assistance.

One of the major turning points came when Kfar Hanassi ignored the advice of some "experts" and planted a 200-acre orchard. One third of the trees are already bearing fruit, and Kfar Hanassi's apples, plums, pears, peaches and olives make an important contribution to the village's income.

Not less important was the introduction of industry—a foundry employing about sixty people in the casting of irrigation pipe couplings, water meters and similar items. In addition, the kibbutz now has a total of some 1,200 acres of land, about one third of which is irrigated.

**Undogmatic charm**: But it is not its economic structure that gives Kfar Hanassi its charm of which, by the way, its members are well aware. They have a

great pride in their kibbutz, and as far as they are concerned it is the most wonderful place in the whole wide world, and they are the best people in the whole wide world.

But what did impress me was the undogmatic way people in Kfar Hanassi go about things. They are convinced kibbutzniks, but their ideology does not loudly dominate their lives. They are politically conscious and had a 90 per cent voters' turnout at the last elections (most of them voted Mapai), but when an important national leader came to give a lecture one evening, he found only fifteen listeners. They all know Hebrew and use it at official meetings, but in their everyday lives they speak English, because "it's easier."

It is perhaps this informal atmosphere that keeps attracting working visitors (there are some fifty there at present) and new members. Some five years ago, for instance, David Levy from Manchester arrived in Kfar Hanassi to deliver a message. He liked it and stayed on for a little while, and today he is Kfar Hanassi's Treasurer. They still call him "the man who came to dinner." There are numerous other cases of people who dropped in for a visit and never dropped out.

**The swimming-pool:** Perhaps nothing shows the spirit of Kfar Hanassi better than the story of its de-luxe swimming pool. An Australian well-wisher had donated £20,000 towards a swimming

pool which was to cost twice as much. How to raise the rest? Some of the members were born in Germany (and had spent their youth in Britain as refugees). All Kfar Hanassi members who received German compensation donated their money to the swimming pool fund.

Last week, as a thirteenth birthday present, Kfar Hanassi celebrated the laying of the cornerstone for a new dining hall in the presence of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, the British and Australian Ambassadors and a thousand other guests.

Half of the £50,000 which the dining hall is to cost has been donated, through the J.P.A., by Mr. and Mrs. Claude Leigh. The Leighs have also given £20,000 to Beth Ha'emelek and £5,000 to Azur, both of them British settlements.

Kfar Hanassi, Ben-Gurion told the gathering, was living testimony to the fact that British Jewry could give not only money but also their children to Israel.

# LETTER

## DR. DAVIS'S CAIRO VISIT

*Sir*—Your issue of September 1 contains an article headed "Strange Visit by Refugee Director: Davis Consults Arab League Before Reporting to Hammarskjold."

I think the article may have been based on a misunderstanding.

The reports of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees to the United Nations General Assembly are drawn up with the advice and co-operation of U.N.R.W.A.'s Advisory Commission in Beirut and without any other consultation. The following Governments are represented on the Advisory Commission: Belgium, France, Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, U.A.R., United Kingdom and the U.S.A.

The report, which is addressed directly to the General Assembly and not to the Secretary-General, was completed and dispatched to U.N. headquarters for reproduction as a General Assembly document before the visit by Dr. Davis to Cairo.

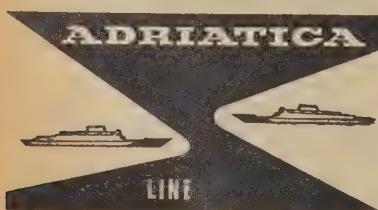
Dr. Davis did not go to Cairo en route to New York, as mentioned in your article. His visit, which took place on 27 August, was of a routine nature to maintain contact with U.N.R.W.A.'s Office there and was one of a number of visits to all U.N.R.W.A.'s Field Offices made during the ten days prior to his departure on 8 September to New York. In each country Dr. Davis called on officials to discuss mutual problems relating to the Arab refugees.

The article further states that, throughout his tenure of office, Dr. Davis has made no direct contact with the Israel Government. The Director does, in fact, maintain contact with the Government of Israel through their U.N. delegation.

Margaret Arakie

Acting Chief, Public Information Office  
UNRWA, Beirut.

(See comment page 9)



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# BOOKS

## EGYPT'S ARMY IN POLITICS

THE EGYPTIAN ARMY IN POLITICS, pattern for new nations, by P. J. Vatikiotis; 300 pp., index; (*Indiana University Press, Bloomington, U.S.A.*) \$7.95.

This remarkable, modest and important book by Professor Vatikiotis, a Jerusalem-born Palestinian Arab, could not have appeared at a more timely moment. It achieves many things that are so rare in books of this kind. In the first place, it is written without inhibitions. At no stage does the reader feel that Vatikiotis is grinding someone's axe. He is probably as good an Arab nationalist as any, but he sees modern Arab history as a many-coloured spectrum, not as a rose or pink dawn.

His approach is at all times simple and straightforward, and so is his refreshingly unsociological and limpid style. He does not waste words on the obvious, but he does pause to correct obvious errors in the minds of many expert writers. He reminds one a little of Professor Zeine in his first volume on the origins of Arab nationalism as he proceeds to strip the legends from the realities. Orabi Pasha was not all that he has been made out to be by some modern writers. Saladin, the fountain-head of modern Arabism, refused to have Egyptians in his army. But these are merely the asides that illustrate the somewhat wry and tangy approach of the book to Arab history. And because of it, the whole becomes so much more tangible and acceptable.

Vatikiotis practices the same method in his detailed analysis of the emergence of the Egyptian Free Officers' Movement that led to the overthrow of Farouk. He shows that, at the time of the revolution, it had virtually no popular base or popular following—far less it seems than had the Syrian rebels last week. He traces with care the relationship between the officers and the Moslem Brotherhood and also with the remnant of the political parties and, this is what make it so valuable, he draws important political conclusions from it.

He then tries to apply his pattern to the state of Syria and Egypt as it was in 1959-60. By its very nature, Syria is a more fruitful field for such a study and he devotes much attention to the Nasserist take-over and the role of the Baath

in it. Here again the book tends to correct many popular misconceptions. It shows that Nasser was rather less reluctant and the Syrians less enthusiastic for the union than has often been claimed. And it is the highest tribute one can pay to the author if one says that, reading him immediately after the break-away of the Syrian Republic from the U.A.R., there is virtually nothing in his account that has been invalidated or dated. On the contrary, what he says illuminates the events of the last few days to an exceptional extent.

But most significant are his conclusions: Is the military regime the pattern for the future? And his answer here is indicative of his outlook. The question should not be, what does Nasser stand for, but what can a military regime stand for? Vatikiotis suggests that Arabism, independence, dignity and all the rest of the familiar slogans are more frequently than not applied only in foreign affairs, but not on the home front. And it is there, he feels, that the Egyptian army in politics will have to meet its supreme test. Professor Vatikiotis, without saying as much, appears to have had his doubts when he wrote the book. And it is precisely these doubts which last week came home to roost in Damascus.

The annotated bibliography, especially of Arab books on this subject, and the comprehensive notes, make this one of the basic volumes for both the student and the intelligent layman who wants to understand the successes, the shortcomings and the inner workings of Nasserism and its imitators.

Jon Kimche

## AN AMERICAN IN TUNISIA

ABOUT TUNISIA, by John Anthony; 221 pp., chronological table, illustrations; (*Geoffrey Bles*) 21s.

The American Ambassador-designate to Ceylon, when asked by a member of the Senate committee investigating his fitness for the post, whether he knew who the Prime Minister of Ceylon was, replied "I don't know". Fortunately for us all, most American diplomatic and consular officials have a better idea than this of the countries they are serving in or are about to serve in. Mr. Anthony spent five years in Tunisia in the U.S. Consular Service, and he obviously went out of his way to learn as much as he could about the country, its language, history and customs, and the people who live there. The result is an amusing, interesting book that really puts some new life into the tired cliché about not being able

to put a book down until one has finished it.

As the author points out in his introduction, this is a personal, not a political or diplomatic book, and the personality which emerges from its pages is an engaging one. At the beginning, Mr. Anthony appears to be a little self-conscious, but as he progresses he forgets that he is writing a book and his style becomes that of a well-read and travelled man, interested in everything around him, writing a long, informative and informal letter to a close friend.

The Tunisia that emerges from his book is indeed a fascinating and a beautiful country with a rich historical past of outstanding interest. This history is skilfully interwoven by Mr. Anthony with accounts of the people he met, descriptions of the places he visited, tales of the experiences he had and cheeky, mildly ribald word-sketches of scenes and events. The multitude of photographs and pen-and-ink sketches are well done, and complement the text in a most satisfactory way.

The publisher is to be congratulated on producing a book of this calibre and size, so very well illustrated, for only a guinea. In these days of high book prices, it is only too rarely that anybody seems to make any effort to turn out worthwhile books for the not so affluent members of our twentieth-century society, who just cannot afford to pay the high prices demanded.

And a final note to all travel agents. Send your half-dozen best clients a copy of this book, and you will get plenty of bookings for Tunisian holidays. Read the book yourselves, and you will be able to brief the most exacting traveller.

*Susan Davids*

### PROMISE UNFULFILLED

FILLED WITH LAUGHTER, by Rufus Learsi; 351 pp., glossary; (*Thomas Yoseloff*) 35s.

A well printed book, excellently bound and nicely laid out, with an attractive dust jacket, but, to use Mr. Learsi's spelling, vos helfn mir die alle gliskn, when the contents do not live up to the promise of the book's title? Some of the stories are too long, many are not funny, and many suffer from the fatal blemish for any funny story—they telegraph their punch lines. Mr. Learsi has taken so many "what he considered permissible liberties", as he puts it in his acknowledgements, that he has considerably reduced the impact these stories make.

*S.R.I.*

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# ISRAELI ENTERPRISE

## A Jewish Observer Panorama

### TAX REVENUE UP A QUARTER

—BUT IT IS STILL NOT HIGH ENOUGH

from Yohanan Ramati

#### Jerusalem :

Figures for the first half of 1961, now released, show that the Israel Treasury has been quite remarkably successful in raising its tax revenues, as compared with the corresponding period of 1960.

This success must be mainly ascribed to further improvements in collection methods and the experience acquired by the department's officials, as well as to higher income levels which have automatically increased the amounts of income tax for which most Israelis are liable.

The larger volume of imports helped to raise takings from indirect taxes, though they also rose as a result of the higher living standards prevailing in the country.

**Wages up 12 per cent:** Income tax collected in January-June 1961 totalled £186½ million, as against £159.4 million during the same months of 1960. This rise of 17 per cent occurred even though the rate of tax was reduced in April 1960.

At the same time, it should be noted that the rise in average wages over the same period totalled 12 per cent, of which only 2½ per cent was due to the tax-free cost-of-living allowance interest. Since Israeli income tax rates are highly progressive, the increase in the amount of tax due was greater than that in taxable income.

Though not exactly a direct tax, the contributions compulsorily payable to the National Insurance Institute are in many respects of the same character. These contributions were also affected by rising

income levels, but here rates were raised, with far-reaching results.

**More property tax:** The Institute col-



DIZENGOFF CIRCLE, TEL AVIV, AT NIGHT  
Booming land values and higher incomes make the taxman happy

lected £24.1 million from wage-earners and self-employed during the first six months of 1961, as against £18.4 million in the same months of 1960. In addition, it collected £37.3 million from employers—as against £28.2 million in January-

to £118.6 million in January-June 1961, an increase of 25 per cent. Excluding ships, aircraft and fuel, the volume of imports increased over the same period by only 8 per cent. The big increase in customs income was thus mainly due to higher rates of duty.

**Israelis drink more:** These were levied on tin and zinc goods, lubricants, galvanised wire, heavy and medium lorries, and cocoa, as well as on spare parts for machinery and equipment. Moreover, duties were imposed for the first time on imported machinery and equipment.

The rates of excise on fuel, tobacco and alcoholic drinks were also raised. In the case of tobacco, consumption remained at roughly its previous level, and income increased moderately—from £19.4 million to £21.8 million in the half-year. But consumption of alcoholic

#### HILLEL FOUNDATION ANNUAL LECTURE

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drinks actually rose, despite the higher tax. Here takings totalled £9.5 million as against £7.9 million in January-June 1960—proportionately a much bigger rise than in the case of tobacco.

The consumption of fuel also rose steeply, and revenue from fuel tax reached £36.3 million, probably a record for any six-month period. It had been only £26.2 million during the corresponding months of 1960. The larger volume of building was chiefly responsible for increasing the cement excise revenue from £12.4 million to £16 million.

**Higher tax on short journeys:** An interesting development occurred in the receipts from the foreign travel tax, which fell from £4.9 million to £4.6 million, though the number of Israelis travelling abroad increased.

It seems that a larger percentage of travellers were exempt from the tax, and that the new regulations which raised the tax rate on short journeys, while reducing it on long ones (for this purpose England is still a short journey, the benefit goes to transatlantic passengers), have not helped to raise income from this source.

Purchase tax, an important item of revenue, yielded £73 million, as against £60.2 million in the first half of 1960.

Here again, higher rates of tax on some items, and larger consumption were the chief factors. It is also symptomatic that receipts from vehicle and driving licences rose from £6.3 million to £9.4 million, a rise of 50 per cent. On the other hand fewer tyres were sold locally and the tyre excise yielded £1.6 million instead of £1.7 million.

**Staff cost more:** All other categories of Government revenue showed appreciable increases, including various kinds of stamp tax and licence fees, as well as income from the Equalisation Funds.

The total of all Government revenue during January-June 1961 reached £630 million, as against £508.4 million in the same months of 1960—an increase of 24 per cent, which must under present circumstances be considered very satisfactory. Unfortunately, it is not enough to meet the needs created by higher costs (particularly of staff) and the larger volume of immigration.

### BONN INVESTS IN ISRAELI INDUSTRY

The biggest source of foreign investment funds in Israel is the United States, which last year accounted for \$75 million of the \$105 million total of foreign capital flowing into Israel for the financing

of new enterprises or the expansion of existing ones.

Of the \$85 million invested during the first six months of this year, U.S. funds amounted to very nearly two thirds—\$55 million. Second on the list was the sterling area, with a total of \$10 million (£3,575,000).

Accurate figures are not available for West German investment in Israel's economy, but various banks and financial institutions have bought shares in a number of Koor industrial enterprises (Koor is the industrial holding company of the Histadrut) and in housing companies.

**Abolishing double taxation:** The Ministry of Finance expects West German investment in Israel to become increasingly important, particularly since the initialling in Jerusalem of an agreement between Israel and the Federal German Republic abolishing double taxation on West German investments in Israeli undertakings.

### TRAMPING IS GOOD BUSINESS

El Yam Ltd., which has built up a fleet of large, fast, modern tramp steamers, and has been operating for nine years, carried 746,000 tons of cargo last

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year, 36 per cent of it to or from Israel, and expects to increase this figure this year.

Despite wages which are nearly double those paid on European ships, El Yam manages to turn a tidy profit on its operations by obtaining as many long-term carrying contracts at fixed rates as it can.

Sometimes this means accepting a rate lower than the current one, but over the years the situation often changes in the line's favour, as it has done, for instance, since 1956.

**Just in time:** At that time, freight rates for coal between the U.S. and Germany were 80-100 shillings a ton. El Yam signed a six-year contract five years ago at 50 shillings a ton, but soon afterwards the rate began to slide downwards and today stands at 25 shillings. El Yam is therefore doing well on this particular contract.

Two-thirds of the company's capital is Israeli (13 per cent being put up by the Israel Discount Bank's investment company), the remaining third being North and South American and European. The capital and reserves amounted to £12 million (£2,375,000) by the end of last year, and will stand at £16 million (£3,168,000) by December of 1961.

## THE ONES THAT WON'T GET AWAY

Israelis eat 18,500 tons of fish a year, and consumption is rising. The latest estimates of the quantity the country will need in four years' time put the figure at 25,000 tons a year. Up to now, the local fishing industry has been able to supply only 14,000 tons a year, leaving imports to bridge the 4,500-ton deficit.

If present plans work out, however, fish will be added to the list of exports from Israel and imports will drop. Somerfin (Israel) will soon be buying and putting into operation a new deep-sea fishing vessel, which will work in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, bringing its catch to Elath.

The Atlantic is not being overlooked either. At present, the Atlantic Company already has one boat working there, and will be adding another. Total cost of the two new fishing vessels is expected to be about £714,000.

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Fri. 6th October: 9.15 The News. 9.25 Our Correspondent Reports. 9.30 Sabbath Programme. 9.44 News Headlines.

Sat. 7th October: 9.15 The News. 9.25 Editorial Opinion. 9.35 Melaveh Malka—Blessing of the Month. 9.44 News Headlines.

Sun. 8th October: 9.15 The News. 9.25 The Second International Bible Quiz. 9.44 News Headlines.

Mon. 9th October: 9.15 The News. 9.25 Newsreel. 9.35 Israel Song Writers—II: Naomi Shemer. 9.44 News Headlines.

Tues. 10th October: 9.15 The News. 9.25 Commentary. 9.30 Public Forum on Education in Israel: Part II. 9.44 News Headlines.

Wed. 11th October: 9.15 The News. 9.25 "I Want to Know"—Listeners Question Kol Zion's Panel. 9.44 News Headlines.

Thurs. 12th October: 9.15 The News. 9.25 The Lively Arts: A Monthly Magazine Programme. 9.35 Israel Songs. 9.44 News Headlines.

## ISRAEL'S BARMITZVAH YEAR

SIGNIFIES 13 YEARS OF ACHIEVEMENT,  
AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE HAVE EVERY  
RIGHT TO BE PROUD—

BUT THIS IS NO TIME FOR  
COMPLACENCY

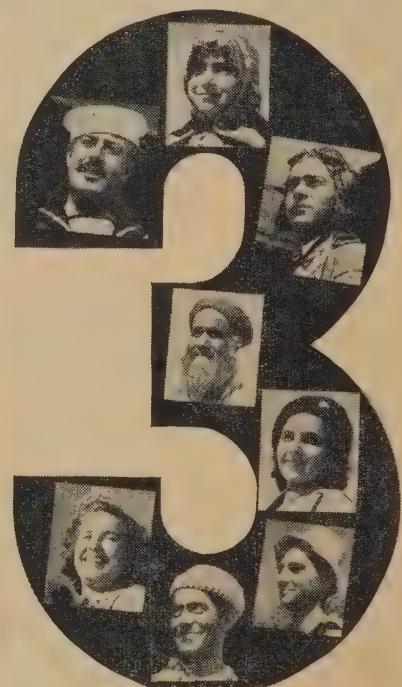
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# JPA-JNF NEWS

Prepared by JPA/JNF Public Relations Department, 4 St. George Street, Hanover Square, W.I. Hyde Park 2286/7

## KOL NIDRE APPEAL UPWARD TREND CONTINUES

The upward trend reported last week in this year's Kol Nidre Appeal for Israel continues. Latest results to arrive at J.P.A. Head Office show that many of the synagogues in both London and the Provinces registered increases, and all others kept up to last year's figures.

So far, 70 synagogues have notified their results to Head Office, many of them including a cheque in settlement. If all others follow this example of promptitude, the Kol Nidre committee will be able to claim that the Chief Rabbi's Appeal in 1961 went over with practically no expenses.

Total now stands at just over £65,000. There are hopes that at least another £10,000 will be reported by this weekend.

Organisations to benefit are: The Joint Palestine Appeal, Children and Youth Aliyah, United Jewish Relief Appeal, Polish Jewish Relief Appeal, Magen David Adom, Friends of the Anti-TB League of Israel, Friends of the Midrasha, Committee for Keren Yaldenu, Yishivah Medical Aid Fund, O.R.T.

List of further results:

### LONDON

	£
Barking and Becontree	157
Chelsea	420
Cockfosters and Southgate	566
Dalston Federation and Talmud Torah	28
Dollis Hill	1,080
East Ham, Manor Park and Ilford	185
Finsbury Park	235
Greenford	136
Hackney (Yavneh)	85
Highgate	225
Kingston, Surbiton	176
North Finchley and Woodside Park	478
Pinner	157
Richmond	353
South Hampstead	525
South West London	200
Sutton	210
West Ham	320

### PROVINCES

Blackpool	640
Eastbourne	200
Gosforth	125
Leeds	3,000
Margate	77
Northampton	400
Southend and Westcliff	1,200

## J.N.F. ANNUAL CONFERENCE

This year's J.N.F. annual conference, the 37th, is due to take place on Saturday evening and Sunday, November 4 and 5. Honorary officers of all Commissions have already been notified by letter, with provisional details and instructions for the election of delegates.

The annual conference of the Jewish National Fund is one of the most significant communal gatherings of the year, and takes place at the Savoy Hotel in London. The open (public) session includes a detailed review by the president of work just concluded and the programme for the coming year. There are also major addresses by leading national personalities, as well as by the Israel

Ambassador.

The business of the conference proper takes place on the Sunday, when six separate sub-committees consider every aspect of J.N.F. activities in this country, and where suggestions from delegates receive a thorough airing. The conference then goes into plenary session for a full-scale debate. The Annual Report is now in production and will be in the hands of delegates in ample time for study before the Conference.

Many delegates' names have already been notified to the conference secretary, and it is most important that those Commissions who have not already done so, nominate their delegates with the minimum of delay. Their names and addresses should be in the hands of the conference secretary not later than Friday, October 12.

## An Announcement by the J.P.A. Administrative Committee

**Thank you for making this year's Kol Nidre Appeal a success.**

**Please pay your pledge at once, so that we may help Israel to take the strain of the new immigration wave.**

**Only cash can buy the homes, welfare services, tools and training now urgently required.**

**So far, £1,670,000 has been raised this year for our National Campaign.**

# J P A - J N F NEWS

## LEADERSHIP COURSE FOR YOUNG J.N.F. WORKERS

With the national conference of the Younger J.N.F. Commissions less than a month away on October 22, groups all over the country are embarking on a season of intensive fund-raising to complete their project—the road to the summit of Mount Meron.

In London, elections took place at a meeting on September 28 for executive positions on the Southern Area Council. Officers for the coming year are: chairman, David May (Regency Group); vice-chairman, John Goodman (Monarch); joint secretaries, Dell Bond (Key), Sandra Kankus (Galila); functions officer, Joe Alter (Junior Blue and White); Blue Box officer, Tony Rae (Great 17th); Tree officer, Melvyn Gilmont (Monarch); information officer, Bruce Howitt (Exodus Group); Blue and White Scheme, Michael Lawson (Sabra).

This marks the retirement of Clive Stern as chairman of the Southern Area Council in order to give him more time for the Cavendish group.

During the course of this Southern Area meeting, the agenda for the October conference was discussed, as well as arrangements for next year's group tour of Israel. It was announced that a weekend Leadership Course for key-workers in Southern Area Commissions is to be held at Bracklesham Bay in November. The remainder of the meeting was devoted to fund-raising ideas and Commissions' problems.

**Amalgamation:** So as to increase the fund-raising potential of Younger J.N.F. groups in the Wembley and Edgware area, the Adullam Commission has amalgamated with the Emanon group to form the Monarch Society. It will be holding weekly meetings with prominent speakers, films and debates on Zionist and general topics, to attract further mem-



Between sessions at a Younger Commissions Conference.

bers. In addition, a regular newsletter is circulated to members and supporters.

The executive is as follows: Chairman, John Goodman; vice-chairman, Norman Simmons; treasurer, Alan Kyiet; functions chairman, Melvyn Gilmont; functions secretary, Marilyn Donn; information and newsletter, Wendy Don; membership, Michael Greenwood; joint secretaries, June Phillips, Jill Hagen; executive members, Shirley Rosen, Phillip Gollinsky.

**Brighton '58:** At the annual general meeting of Brighton's Younger Commission, (the '58 Group), Michael Singer reported outstanding success in Blue Box work. Functions, which included a film premiere, a barbecue and a number of house parties, raised £1,800. In thanking the group for their contribution to the Younger Commissions' target, Trevor Chinn, national chairman, stressed that expansion must be the aim of every Commission. He mentioned the value of the recent tour of Israel and the significance of actually travelling along the "Highway of Youth."

Executive elected: chairman, Michael Singer; vice-chairman, Brian Josyfon; treasurer, Justin Myers; functions chair-

man, Alan Neuman; joint secretaries, Hilary Weinberg, Sandra Brick; executive members, Edmund Cutts, Julian Hyman, Norman Pearl.

**Cavendish Group:** At a recent meeting of the Commission, Clive Stern was elected chairman to succeed Anthony Fine. A report was given of the recent successful Sammy Davis Show.

**Leeds Carmel Fellowship:** This new executive was recently elected: Chairman, David Freedman; vice-chairman, Geoffrey Goldberg; treasurer, Michael Goldstone; joint secretaries, Gabrielle Homberg, Marilynn Wayne; Blue and White Scheme officer, Stephen Cohen; executive members, Joanna Reiss, Hilary Solk, Madeline Silverman, Ralph Goodstone, Michael Hardy.

## THE ROAD AHEAD "NOT GOING TO BE EASY" J.N.F. SUPPORTERS TOLD

In the course of a New Year greeting sent to the J.N.F. supporters in this country, Jacob Tsur, K.K.L. chairman, writes:

We are witnessing immense technical progress which is changing the face of our world with enormous speed, and which demands a revision of all our concepts of geography. Therefore, only those nations which make continued and supreme efforts to raise their standards in all spheres can hope to keep pace with the general progress of mankind.

The fundamental endeavour of the Jewish National Fund to change the face of Israel's land occupies an honoured place in the great work of our country's up-building and development.

Creating new soil as a basis for large-scale Jewish settlement in Galilee, developing Korazin on the exposed Syrian border and Mount Gilboa on the Jordan frontier, opening the road from Tel Arad in the Judean Desert to the Dead Sea coast, conquering the Negev wastes on the Egyptian border—these will be the milestones on the path of the J.N.F. during the coming year. This is the road we must choose in order to fortify the security of the State, strengthen its economy, absorb new immigrants and assure their employment. It is not an easy one to traverse.

Together with the physical effort involved in overcoming natural obstacles, the task also demands tremendous financial resources for its implementation. The efforts to mobilise ever-growing support to finance such activities are the foremost task of J.N.F. workers in all countries.

### ST. JOHN'S WOOD AND HAMPSTEAD J.N.F. COMMISSIONS

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### GALA PERFORMANCE “DO-RE-MI”

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# J P A - J N F NEWS

## LADY STANSGATE IS SOUTHPORT'S CHOICE

This Sunday evening, Lady Stansgate, mother of Anthony Wedgwood Benn, the "reluctant peer", will be guest of honour at a banquet in Southport to launch this city's J.P.A. appeal—traditionally the last major effort of the campaign year.

Lady Stansgate, widow of a former Labour Party leader who sat in the Cabinet as Secretary of State for Air in 1945-46, is as keen a student of the development of Israel as was her late husband.

The Southport J.P.A. committee, one of our hardest-working groups in the Provinces, anticipates better-than-ever results from this year's activities. Leading the campaign are M. Fletcher, L. B. Woolf and Jack Smush.

### SITUATION VACANT

**FULL TIME COLLECTOR** wanted for Jewish National Fund. Please telephone for appointment, Mr. Lowensohn, MUS. 6111.

## THE LATE SOLOMON AARONSON

It is with profound regret that we report the death last week of Solomon Aaronson, a London businessman who had made Zionism the foremost interest in his life, and who was the father of Mrs. Nat Ezro, one of our leading Finchley J.N.F. workers.

Mr. Aaronson, it will be recalled, chose to mark his Golden Wedding anniversary by donating £10,000 to the J.N.F. for the erection of a forest watchtower in Biranit. This was the culmination of many years of generosity.

A prominent figure in the furniture trade, Mr. Aaronson was a warm supporter of this industry's J.P.A. effort. His passing leaves a gap in the Jewish life of this country that will never be filled, and our condolences go out to his widow, his children and the entire Finchley community.

## THIS WEEKS BEST BOXES

**E. LONDON:** Mr. I. Gorin, 118 Ashfield Street, E.1, £7.8.0. Julius and Co., 82 Cavell Street, E.1, £6.11.0. Mrs. Levy, 122 Burdett Road, E.3, £4.5.0. Mrs. Cohen, 144 Jubilee Street, E.1, £4.2.0. Mr. I. Epstein, 20 Joscoyne House, Philpot Street, E.1, £4.0.0. Mr. Goldstein, 27 Lyndhurst Drive, E.10, £3.13.6. Mr. D. Michaels, 73 Bow Road, E.3, £3.0.5. Mr. H. Lister, Bank House, 323 Lea Bridge Road, E.10, £2.10.0. Mrs. Sternfeld, 17 Armsby House, Stepney Way, E.1, £2.5.0. Mr. L. Mernick, 34 Campbell Road, E.3, £2.3.7. Mrs. Klein, 7 Greenwich House, Cavell Street, E.1, £2.3.6. Mr. A. Einhorn, 22 Teesdale Road, E.11, £2.2.8. Mr. L. Lewis, 503 High Road, Leytonstone, E.11, £2.2.0. Mr. S. Doltis, 39 Forest Drive, West, E.11, £2.2.0. Elton and Co. Ltd., 45 Turner Street, E.1, £2.2.0. Mrs. B. Engleman, 26 Culverton House, Sidney Street, E.1, £2.0.0. Mrs. S. Marlow, 79 Overton Road, E.10, £2.0.0.

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